



**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS**

JAYLA ALLEN, et al.,

PLAINTIFFS

v.

Civil Case No. 4:18-cv-3985

WALLER COUNTY, et al.,

DEFENDANTS

**EXPERT REPORT
OF
Robert Stein, Ph.D.**

ON BEHALF OF PLAINTIFFS

**JAYLA ALLEN, DAMON JOHNSON, RAUL SANCHEZ, TREASURE SMITH, AND
THE PANTHER PARTY**

I. Introduction

At the request of the Plaintiffs in JAYLA ALLEN, DAMON JOHNSON, RAUL SANCHEZ, TREASURE SMITH, and THE PANTHER PARTY v. WALLER COUNTY, TEXAS, *et al.*, we have undertaken to analyze the Plaintiffs' claims that voters aged 18 through 20 and Black voters aged 18 through 20—which Plaintiffs contend are each concentrated groups of student voters at Prairie View A&M University (PVAMU)—as well as Black voters in Prairie View—in Waller County were not afforded the same or similar opportunities to vote early as all other registered voters in Waller County, which Plaintiffs contend encompass older and non-Black voters (ECF Document No. 49, page 3).

This report proceeds in the following manner. In Section II we outline the evidence we relied on and our methodology. In Section III we describe our qualifications. In Section IV we: (a) detail the original and modified plans for early voting in Waller County for the 2018 election; (b) identify the best practices for conducting early voting by reviewing the peer-reviewed, scholarly literature on this topic; and (c) consider whether and to what degree Waller County conformed to those best practices and present our assessment of the Plaintiffs' claims that voters aged 18 through 20, Black voters aged 18 through 20, and Black voters in Prairie View in Waller County were not afforded the same or similar opportunities to vote early as all other registered voters in Waller County (ECF Document No. 49, page 3).

II. Evidence and Methodology

We use the best practices identified in the extant literature to assess whether Waller County's original and modified plans for early voting in the 2018 election provided the same or similar opportunities for all registered voters to cast early votes. Were specific groups of registered voters more burdened than others in casting an early vote? The Plaintiffs' claims are that voters aged 18 through 20, Black voters aged 18 through 20, and Black voters in Prairie View in Waller County were not afforded the same or similar opportunities to vote early as all other registered voters in Waller County (ECF Document No. 49, page 3).

To conduct this assessment, we geocoded the residences of every registered voter eligible to vote in Waller County for the 2018 election. We used that data to identify likely (a) 18 to 20 year-old students at PVAMU who registered to vote in Waller County in the 2018 election, and (b) Black 18 to 20 year-old students at PVAMU who registered to vote in Waller County in the

2018 election, based on those registered voters whose official residence is on the PVAMU campus or in off-campus housing reportedly¹ occupied by PVAMU students. Using this method, we identified 2,588 persons registered to vote on the PVAMU campus and 63 persons registered to vote who reside in off-campus student housing for a total of 2,651 PVAMU students were registered to vote in the 2018 election in Waller County.

Our estimate of PVAMU students registered to vote in Waller County is necessarily low, and certainly misses many more such PVAMU students who live near campus or elsewhere in Waller County, but whom we have thus far been unable to identify as students.²

Using the date of birth of each registered voter in Waller County, we calculated the proportion of all registered voters who were aged 18 through 20. We determined that 1,977 (5.9%) registered voters were aged 18 through 20 at the time of the November 2018 election. Using the methodology described above, we identified 2,651 PVAMU students (of all ages) who were registered to vote in Waller County during the 2018 election. By our calculation, 178 (6.7%) of those PVAMU students registered to vote in November 2018 were aged 18 through 20.

As of this report and with the data available, we were not able to determine the race and/or ethnicity of individual registered voters in Waller County. At this time, the best estimate of the race and/or ethnicity of registered voters in Waller County is provided by the U.S. Bureau of the Census' *2010 Census*, which reports the number of persons by race and ethnicity for individual census blocks in each county. With this information, we are able to identify whether a registered voter lives in a neighborhood (i.e., census block) which is comprised of a majority of persons who self-identify as Black. However, these data do not differentiate between persons who are or are not registered to vote. Thus, the census data can be used to determine the general racial and ethnic makeup of a census block, but not whether any individual living in that census block was registered to vote. PVAMU's Office of Institutional Research reported that in the Fall 2018 semester, 7,906 of 9,516 PVAMU students (of all ages) identified as Black.³

¹ Information provided by a senior administrator at PVAMU via Plaintiffs' attorneys.

² We identified an additional 389 persons who voted at the PVAMU Memorial Student Center during early voting, were under the age of 21, and live within one mile of the Memorial Student Center, but whom we could not verify as students at PVAMU.

³ Prairie View A&M University, *Prairie View A&M University Enrollment Snapshots: Fall 2018* at 6 (last visited July 1, 2019), http://www.pvamu.edu/ir/wp-content/uploads/sites/98/FA18_Enrollment-Snapshots.pdf.

Once we had identified as many registered voters as possible, based on the data available, by age, race, PVAMU student status, and location of residence, we then determined the relative access that each of the groups identified as harmed in the Plaintiffs' complaint had to early voting in Waller County during the 2018 election.

III. Qualifications

I am Robert Marc Stein, the Lena Gohlman Fox Professor of Political Science at Rice University in Houston, Texas, where I am also a Fellow at the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy. I graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1972 with B.A. in Government and Politics. I received an M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in 1974 and 1977 respectively.

I have conducted research and published on the topics of elections, election administration, specifically pertaining to alternative methods of voting and their impact on voter participation and costs of administering elections and voter performance. My research has been supported by the National Science Foundation, The Pew Charitable Trust, the Kinder Institute, the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, and the Arnold Foundation. I have conducted research for the two Presidential Commissions studying elections in 2009 and 2016. I have been a consultant on election administration for several state and local governments, including the State of Colorado, El Paso County, Colorado; Bernalillo County, New Mexico; Collin County, Texas; Lubbock County, Texas; and Harris County, Texas.

I was an expert witness in the 2015 South Dakota case, *Thomas Poor Bear, et al. vs The County of Jackson*, pertaining to the establishment of satellite offices for voter registration and in-person absentee voting in the Town of Wanblee on the Pine Ridge Reservation. In 2018, I was an expert witness in the case *Martin Cowen, et al. vs Brian Kemp* pertaining to the ballot access requirements in the state of Georgia.

An **Appendix** to this report contains a copy of my current curriculum vitae that includes a complete list of my publications and research grants.

I am being compensated for my work at a rate of \$250 per hour plus expenses.

IV. Assessment of Waller County's Early Voting Practices in the 2018 Election**A. Waller County Plans for Early Voting in the 2018 Election**

In preparation for the 2018 midterm election, the Waller County Commissioners Court made decisions about the number, location, staffing, equipment, days, and hours of operation for the period of early voting in Waller County from Monday, October 22 through Friday, November 2. We understand that state law provides counties with populations under 100,000 some discretion in making the above choices. (Tex. Elec. Code § 85.062(a)).

We understand from ECF Document No. 49 that the original plans made by the Waller County Commissioners Court regarding the conduct of early voting for the 2018 election were as follows:

There were to be two weeks of early voting beginning on Monday, October 22 and ending on Friday, November 2.

During the first week, early voting was to take place each day, Monday, October 22 through Sunday, October 28, at a total of six polling locations. During that first week, two early voting polling locations were to be located in the City of Waller, two in the City of Hempstead, one in the City of Brookshire, and one in the City of Katy. No early voting location was scheduled to be open in the City of Prairie View, where the PVAMU campus is located, during the first week.

During the weekdays (Monday, October 22 through Friday, October 26), any of the six above mentioned locations were to operate for nine hours (8am-5pm) per day, though some locations were only open a few days during that week.⁴ During the first weekend of early voting (Saturday, October 27 and Sunday, October 28), there were to be five polling locations in operation in the County: two in the City of Waller, two in the City of Hempstead, and one in the City of Brookshire. One location in the City of Waller and one location in the City of Brookshire were to operate both Saturday, October 27 and Sunday, October 28. The remaining three locations were to operate on Saturday, October 27, but not on Sunday, October 28.

During the second week, early voting was to take place each day, Monday, October 29 through Friday, November 2, at a total of five polling locations. One of these locations was to be

⁴ For example, Katy was open Monday-Wednesday; Monaville Co. Building in Hempstead was open Thursday-Friday; and Fieldstore Co. Building in Waller was open Thursday-Friday.

in the City of Waller, one in the City of Hempstead, one in the City of Brookshire, and two in the City of Prairie View.

From Monday, October 29 through Wednesday, October 31, there were to be four early voting locations in operation, each open for nine hours per day (8am-5pm). One of these locations was to be in the City of Hempstead, one in the City of Waller, one in the City of Brookshire, and one in the City of Prairie View on the campus of PVAMU.

Between Thursday, November 1 and Friday, November 2 there were to be four early voting locations, each open for 12 hours per day (7am-7pm). One of these locations was to be in the City of Hempstead, one in the City of Waller, one in the City of Brookshire, and one in the City of Prairie View, but not on the campus of PVAMU.

We understand from ECF Document No. 49 that changes were made to the 2018 early voting schedule in Waller County by the Waller County Commissioners Court. According to ECF Document No. 49, the Commissioners Court modified its early voting plan for the 2018 election during an emergency session on October 24, 2018, in response to complaints made by County residents at the October 17, 2018 Commissioners Court meeting. According to ECF Document No. 49, the Commissioners Court originally voted against modifying the plan at the October 17, 2018 meeting, and did so only after the Plaintiffs' original complaint was filed on October 22, 2018, the first scheduled day of early voting.

Specifically, the Commissioners Court "voted to increase early voting hours at the on-campus Memorial Student Center by three hours per day on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the second week (Monday, October 29 through Wednesday, October 31), and to provide five hours (from 12pm-5pm) of early voting off-campus at Prairie View City Hall on Sunday, October 28, 2018, the last day of the first week of early voting." (ECF Document No. 49, page 18). This modified plan was adopted during the first week of early voting, while voters were casting their ballots.

Exhibit A to this report includes a chart of the early voting allocation for 2018.

Additionally, based on a review of discovery provided by the Defendants, it appears that the County of Waller did little to notify voters in the City of Prairie View generally or on the PVAMU campus specifically, the only locations where modifications to the early voting schedule

were made on October 24, 2018, of the additional location, day, and hours available to them to vote.

B. Best Practices for Conducting Early Voting

Scholarly research has identified a number of factors that determine whether or not all voters have equal access to polling places during an election. We detail below how each of these factors has been shown to impact voter access to the ballot.

1. The number and location of polling places

Polling place operations include the number of polling places available to a voter to choose from and whether polling place locations remain accessible across elections. Thirty-seven states—including Texas, where Waller County is located—and the District of Columbia, afford their voters the opportunity to choose where and when they can cast a ballot in-person before Election Day. States with in-person early voting provide multiple locations at which to vote, enabling voters to avoid long lines and waiting times by choosing from alternative locations. However, the placement of those locations is also essential to voter access; placing early polling sites at locations near where voters prefer to vote (e.g., near their residences or where they go to school) is integral to that accessibility (Stein et al. 2019). These features of polling place operations have been shown to have a significant positive effect on accessibility to polling places (Stein and Vonnahme 2008; 2011; 2012; Fullmer 2015).

2. Distance and travel time to the polling place

Several researchers (Dyck and Gimpel 2005; Gibson, et al. 2013; Gimpel and Schuknecht 2003; Cantoni 2016) have shown that the distance and travel time between a voter's residence and their designated and/or available polling location has a significant and negative effect on ballot access. Cantoni (2016) reports that a 0.25-mile increase in the distance to a polling place reduces the number of ballots cast by 2%-5% over Presidential, mid-term Congressional, and municipal elections. Moreover, "the negative impact of distance to the polling place is concentrated disproportionately in high-minority areas" (Cantoni 2016: 4).

The closest early voting location to the PVAMU campus—apart from the on-campus early voting location at the Memorial Student Center (MSC)—was the off-campus early voting location at the Waller County Community Center. However, the Community Center is located to the south of the PVAMU campus, 1.4 to 1.6 miles away from two large student residential housing facilities

on the PVAMU campus (i.e., University Square, located at 502 Anne Preston Street, and University College, located at 505 Anne Preston Street). This distance is five to six times further than the minimum distance beyond which Cantoni observed reduced voter turnout.

3. Transportation to the polls

Access to the polls requires adequate, reliable, and affordable public or private transportation (Barretto, Cohen-Marks and Woods 2009). Haspel and Knotts (2005) find that distances to polling places are less burdensome when “automobiles are universally available” to voters (2005: 267). Gibson et al. (2013) compute a distance measure with an imputed wage measure for each voter to estimate the opportunity costs of voting and find it is highly predictive of voting. The authors report that “small increases in the opportunity costs of voting can have large effects in reducing ballot access (2013: 517).” There is evidence to suggest that younger voters, such as college students, find polling locations difficult to access due to limited transportation options (Shino and Smith 2019).

4. Hours of polling place operation

Fullmer (2015) shows that hours and number of locations affect access to early voting. Small changes in the hours of polling place operations across elections have an effect on voter turnout (Garmann 2017, Stein et al. 2019). Garmann (2017) reports that reducing the hours of polling station operations and the opening hours significantly reduces voter turnout by 2.1%. Reducing the number of evening and/or early morning hours at polling places can also limit accessibility (Garmann 2017; Stein et al. 2019).

5. Number of days and days of week of polling place operations

Fullmer (2018) reports that increasing the number of days of early voting increases the number of early votes cast. Weekends are among the most popular days to vote early (Herron and Smith 2014; Walker, Herron and Smith 2018), when voters do not have to attend work, school, or other weekday commitments.

6. Informing the public about polling place opportunities and changes to those opportunities.

Brady and McNulty (2011) report that consolidating voting locations in Los Angeles, California, reduced voter turnout by 3%, due in part to voters who were not informed about the change or relocation of their Election Day polling place. Similarly, Haspel and Knotts (2005: 569)

find that the confusion to voters that results from modifying polling place operations and locations can be offset by a strong public information campaign informing them of those changes.

In summary, the literature on early voting shows that accessibility to the polls increases the use of early voting. Practices that enable voter accessibility include:

- Adequate numbers and appropriate locations of polling places relative to the size and residential location of the electorate.
- Minimal distance and voter access to necessary transportation to and from polling locations.
- Sufficient and varied (e.g., evening) hours of polling place operation.
- Sufficient and varied (e.g., weekend) days during which polling places are open.
- Effective communication of election plans and any changes to election plans to the voting public.

From my personal experience working with election officials in Lubbock, Collin, and Harris Counties, I found these standards to be uniform. The application of these standards may not have always been uniformly practiced.

In the Defendant Waller County's response to the Plaintiffs' Interrogatory No. 4, it listed seven "factors" the County used in the determination of early voting locations and hours for the 2018 election: 1) population of registered voters; 2) historical turnout; 3) how heavily contested an election is; 4) number of available poll workers; 5) time required to train poll workers; 6) number of controller and voting units and their distribution; and 7) accessibility, ease of use, parking, and security for various locations.

In Defendants' responses to Interrogatory No. 4, the Defendants do not provide enough detail about how they used the factors to determine the location and hours of early voting to enable us to make a determination about whether population of registered votes was or was not a primary factor in their decision making. For example, did the County allocate early voting opportunities on a per registered voter basis, or was population used to determine prior voting history? We can, however, observe that the distribution of early voting locations did not provide equal access (as we have defined access in this report) to the three populations that are the focus of this litigation.

According to records provided by the Defendants in this lawsuit through discovery,⁵ Precinct 309, the PVAMU campus precinct, had 4,834 registered voters as of November 6, 2018—by far the largest population of registered voters out of any precinct in the County, and almost 1,400 more than the second most populous precinct in the County. Waller County officials also appear to have anticipated, accurately, that a large number of student voters would vote early at the on-campus polling location in Precinct 309, because the County’s records from the November 2018 election show that it assigned that location the largest number of voting machines during the early voting period.⁶ However, if the distribution of voting machines by precinct during early voting was based on registered-voter population and anticipated voter interest, the same cannot be said of the assignment of early voting hours and days. The MSC on the PVAMU campus was the sole early voting location in Precinct 309, the County’s most populous voting precinct. Instead of providing the MSC with more early voting hours and days than other early voting locations in less populous precincts, County officials provided it with *fewer*. Waller County’s 2018 early voting plans provided Precinct 309 only a fraction of the hours and days that were granted to early voting locations in precincts with far smaller populations of registered voters. This discrepancy is significant because, as stated above, best practices in the academic literature on early voting and the County’s own stated guidelines call for the population size and residential location of the electorate to be given substantial weight in allocating early voting opportunities.

C. Analysis and Conclusion

Based on the evidence and methodology described above, we list below our assessment and conclusions.

Table 1 reports for each early voting location the number of weeks, total days, hours, and weekend days that the polling site was open for early voting during the 2018 election. In addition, the last three columns of **Table 1** report the number of votes cast at each early voting location, the share of voters at each location aged 18 through 20, and the share of votes cast by persons who reside in majority-Black neighborhoods.

As **Table 1** shows, locations that had more hours of operation during early voting also had higher shares of the total early vote. Both Waller ISD Administrative Building and the Brookshire

⁵ Specifically, I refer here to the PDF titled “DEFENDANTS000003 - VERITY EQUIPMENT ASSIGNMENT (01172322x7A30F).”

⁶ Here again I refer to “DEFENDANTS000003 - VERITY EQUIPMENT ASSIGNMENT (01172322x7A30F).”

Library had over 100 hours of operation during early voting. They were followed by Waller County Court House, with 96 hours of operation. No other early voting polling place in Waller County had more than 36 hours of operation; Prairie View City Hall had the least, with only five hours of operation. Seventy percent of all early votes in Waller County were cast at the three early voting locations with 90 or more hours of operation (i.e., Waller ISD Administrative Building, Brookshire Library, and Waller County Court House). The remaining 30% of early votes were cast at the other six early voting locations.

The three locations with the greatest number of hours of operation also had the most days of operation. Three locations (Waller ISD Administrative Building, Waller County Courthouse and Brookshire Library) operated during both weeks of early voting. All three of these locations were open on the weekend of early voting, and two (Waller County Courthouse and Brookshire Library) operated on both days of that weekend to provide Saturday and Sunday early voting. Each of the other six early voting locations operated during only one of the two weeks of early voting, and most were open a total of 2-3 of the 12 days of early voting.

When we look at early voters aged 18 through 20, (**Table 1**), we observe that 61% of them cast their ballots at the PVAMU Student Center. This location ranked fourth in total number of hours of operation. It was not open at all during the first week of early voting or on the one weekend of early voting, and operated for a total of three out of 12 days of early voting. The PVAMU MSC location was originally scheduled to have 27 hours of operation; that number was changed to 36 hours on October 24, 2018, following the filing of this lawsuit and two days after the start of early voting.

When we look at where Black voters in Waller County voted early in the 2018 election (**Table 1**), we observe that they cast their ballots at early polling locations with the fewest hours and days of operation. Specifically, early voters who live in Waller County neighborhoods that are majority-Black comprised 72% of the early votes cast at the PVAMU Student Center, 47% cast at the Waller County Community Center (located in the City of Prairie View, adjacent to the southmost portions of the PVAMU campus), and 47% cast at Prairie View City Hall. Black voters cast between 1% and 22% of the early votes at the six other early voting locations in Waller County. The three locations where most Black voters cast their votes are located in the City of Prairie View, which has the largest concentration of Black voters in the County. All three of these

locations were open during only one week of early voting, for totals of 1-3 days, and for totals of 5-36 hours of operation. Only one location—Prairie View City Hall—offered weekend hours of operation, and that location was open for a total of five hours on only one day during the entire two-week early voting period. Waller County provided the three early voting locations in the City of Prairie View the least early voting accessibility of any early voting location based on the hours and days of operation allocated to them during the 2018 election in Waller County.

The overwhelming majority of PVAMU students⁷ who voted early in the 2018 Waller County election (N=200, 75.9%) voted at the MSC on the PVAMU campus. Only 63 (24.1%) of PVAMU students who voted early cast their ballots at an off-campus location. As discussed above, the PVAMU MSC early voting location was among the sites provided the least early voting access (i.e., in terms of fewest hours, days and weekend operations) of the early voting locations in the County.

Though the majority of Waller County voters chose to vote early in 2018 (71%), an even greater percentage of PVAMU students (81%, 10% more than voters who were not PVAMU students), voted early in the 2018 election. This suggests that PVAMU students were more dependent on early voting than other voters in Waller County.

A review of the PVAMU Office of Institutional Research report of shuttle bus services for the students on the PVAMU campus to offsite locations near the 2018 early voting locations in Waller County shows that such services were limited or not available during the days and hours of early voting at these offsite locations, including during the entire first weekdays of early voting—when there were no early voting locations anywhere in Prairie View—and on the only Saturday and Sunday of early voting.

The above findings have two possible explanations. First, County election officials may have distributed the hours and days of operations and other resources to those locations where they anticipated early voters would choose to vote. Defendant Waller County's response to Plaintiffs' Interrogatory No. 4 did list historical turnout (# 2) as one of seven factors that is considered in

⁷ The category of voters defined here as "PVAMU students" consists of those registered voters in Waller County who can be identified as PVAMU students based on the address provided in their voter registration records. Although this category likely overlaps significantly with the category of voters who are aged 18 through 20, we derive the "PVAMU students" category using a different methodology to shed light on the early voting plan's effects specifically on voters who are identifiable as PVAMU students from registration records—and thus could also be so identified by Waller County officials.

making decisions about the allocation of early voting in the 2018 election. However, Waller County's response to that same interrogatory also listed population of registered voters (# 1) as another such factor, but that factor does not appear to have been seriously considered—which may cast doubt on the extent to which the seven enumerated factors truly motivated the development of the early voting plan.

A second, and not necessarily contradictory explanation, is that the different rates of voting at each early voting location were a *result* of the different number of hours, days, and other resources allocated to each location. That is, early voters chose to vote at locations where accessibility to early voting was greater; i.e., where hours, days, weekends, and other resources for early voting were more abundant. The fact that these locations were not where significant populations of voters aged 18 through 20, Black voters aged 18 through 20, and Black voters in Prairie View chose to vote may have been coincidental, but the effect of this decision by the Waller County Commissioners Court was to deny voters aged 18 through 20, Black voters aged 18 to 20, and Black voters in Prairie View equal or even similar access to early voting opportunities afforded other registered voters in Waller County. If the County had intended to make it more difficult for Black and younger voters in Prairie View to access early voting than other voters in Waller County, our analysis indicates that designing an early voting plan similar to the one they designed for the 2018 election would have been an effective way to do so. Moreover, the distribution of the days and hours of early voting locations was not proximate to where registered voters aged 18 through 20 and Black registered voters aged 18 through 20, as well as Black registered voters in Prairie View, live or chose to vote early.

The literature on best practices suggests that access to greater quantities of early voting locations, hours, and days (Fullmer 2015) significantly enhances the likelihood that voters will cast their ballots at early voting locations. Thus, historical early voting returns that show more early votes being cast in certain locations as compared to others may reveal, in part, a persistent history of unequal distribution of early voting hours in Waller County to the disadvantage of locations that are accessible by more Black voters or younger voters. If this is the case, Waller County should probably not continue to allocate more early voting opportunities solely to early voting locations with historically higher early voting turnout, unless the County wishes to perpetuate past unfairness. In other words, if Waller County allocates early voting (days and hours)

to those locations where the largest total number of voters cast their ballots in the past, they may be limiting the opportunities to vote early for voters aged 18 through 20 and Black voters 18 through 20, and Black voters in Prairie View who reside in, go to school in, or have walking access or transportation access to locations in Prairie View, including the MSC on PVAMU's campus. Further, the County's decision to offer fewer hours and days of operation of early voting at locations in the City of Prairie View, where the largest concentration of Black voters in Waller County live—and go to school on the PVAMU campus, which houses and serves the largest concentration of voters 18 through 20 and Black voters aged 18 through 20 in the County—may have had the effect of suppressing early voting in the 2018 election among Prairie View residents of Waller County aged 18 through 20, Black and aged 18 through 20, and Black persons who live in Prairie View.

For these reasons, it appears that Waller County's early voting plan for 2018 disproportionately impacted voters aged 18 through 20, Black voters aged 18 through 20, and Black voters in Prairie View because they were not afforded the same or similar opportunities to vote early as other registered voters in the County.

Table 1
Accessibility of Early Voting in 2018 Waller County Election by Location
(Under 10/24/18 Modified Plan)

Location	Weeks	Days	Weekend		Hours	% 18-20 ¹	% Black ²	Early Votes
			Days	Hours				
Brookshire Library	2	12	2	106	2	11	2,657	
JP #3 Monaville	1	3	1	23	2	14	150	
JP #2 Fieldstore	1	3	1	23	1	2	834	
Katy VFW Hall	1	3	0	27	2	1	636	
Waller County Court House	2	12	2	106	3	22	3,393	
PV City Hall	1	1	1	5	5	47	77	
Waller County Comm. Center (in PV)	1	2	0	24	5	47	144	
PVAMU MSC	1	3	0	36	28	72	1,417	
Waller ISD Admin	2	11	1	101	3	15	1,588	

1 Percent of persons 18-20 years of age

2 Percent of persons who live in a majority-Black community

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I reserve the right to continue to supplement my declarations in light of additional facts, testimony and/or materials that may come to light.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury of the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct according to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

Executed on: _____, 2019

Robert M. Stein, PhD

CURRICULUM VITAE
November, 2019

ROBERT M. STEIN
Lena Gohlman Fox Professor of Political Science
Rice University
Houston, Texas 77251
713-348-2795
Email: Stein@rice.edu

Place of birth:
New York, N.Y.

Married, two children

Education

B.A., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, 1972.

M.A., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milw., Wisc., 1974

Ph.D., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milw., Wisc., 1977

Fields of Specialization

Elections and election administration, Federalism and intergovernmental relations, state and local government, urban politics and public policy.

Teaching Positions

Lena Gohlman Fox Professor of Political Science, 1996

Fellow, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, 2006

Professor, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1989-1996.

Visiting Associate Professor and research scientist, Workshop in Political Theory-Public Policy and Department of Political Science, Indiana University, 1987-1988.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1983-1989.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1979-1983.

Assistant Professor, University of Georgia, 1977-1978.

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Administrative positions

Faculty Director, Center for Civic Engagement, Rice University 2007- present

Dean, School of Social Sciences, Rice University, 1996 - 2006

Interim Dean, School of Social Sciences, Rice University, 1995 - 1996

Chair, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1994 - 1995

Director, Policy Studies Program (undergraduate major), Rice University, 1987- 1995

Director, Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1987- 1991.

Chair, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1984-86

Director, Rice Institute of Policy Analysis Public Opinion Poll, 1983-present.

Political analyst, KHOU-TV, Houston, Tx. 1983- present

Fellowships, awards, and offices

Outstanding reviewer award, Political Research Quarterly 2010.

Best paper award on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations for “Inter-Local Cooperation and the Distribution of Federal Grants,” by The section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, American Political Science Association, 2004 (with Kenneth Bickers)

President, Urban Politics Subsection, American Political Science Association, 1999-2000.

Recipient, George R. Brown Award for Superior Teaching, Rice University, 1998.

President, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1998.

Recipient, Outstanding Mentor of Women in Political Science Award, Women’s Caucus for Political Science, American Political Science Association, 1996.

Special book award from the Urban Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for, Urban Alternatives: Private and Public Markets in the Provision of Local Services, 1991.

Research fellowship, Indiana University, Workshop in Political Theory and Public Policy, 1987-1988.

Recipient, George R. Brown Award for Superior Teaching, Rice University, 1987.

Fellowship, U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1978-1979.

Research Grants and Contracts

Election Day Vote Centers in Harris County, Texas. Funded by the Arnold Foundation, May 2019 – December 2020, \$100,000.

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Hurricane Harvey: Longitudinal Survey, Funded by the National Science Foundation, January 2018 – December 2021, SBER1760292, \$200,000. Co-PI

Urban Flooding: Identifying where it floods and evaluating remedies. May 2018-September 2019. Kinder Institute, Ken Kennedy Institute and Office of Research, Rice University, \$74,450 Co-PI

2016 City of Houston Citizen Survey, September 2016-January 2017, City of Houston, \$23,500

Vote by mail, September 2014-September 2015, Pew Charitable Trusts, \$48,000.

Saturday Run-off Election Exit Poll Survey, City of Houston, October-November, 2013. \$4,000.

Prioritizing and selecting bridge management actions for heightened truck loads and natural hazards in light of funding allocation patterns, National Science Foundation, September 2012 - August, 2015. co-PI (\$1.2 million)

Phase 2 Development and enhancement of online storm risk calculator tool for public usage , City of Houston, Office of Public Safety and Homeland Security, November, 2012 - June 2013. co-PI (\$189,000)

NetSE: Large Urban-Scale Polymorphic Wireless Networks: Community-Driven Assessment, Design and Access, National Science Foundation, September 2010-2013, co-PI (\$1.9 million)

Development and enhancement of online storm risk calculator tool for public usage , City of Houston, Office of Public Safety and Homeland Security, January, 2011 - June 2011. co-PI (\$309,000)

Increasing turnout among the less engaged: A study of Election Day vote centers, Pew Charitable Trusts, September, 2007 – May, 2009, PI (\$260,000)

Independent Response of Complex Urban Infrastructures Subjected to Multiple Hazards, National Science Foundation, October 2007 – October 2010, co-PI (\$20,000)

Program evaluation, City of Houston, SAFEclear, traffic incident management program, July 2006-January 2008. PI (\$20,000)

Program evaluation, City of Houston, SAFEclear, traffic incident management program, February 2005-December 2005. PI (\$20,000)

Program Utilization Among Households Eligible for Head Start Enrollment, funded by the Harris County Department of Education, June, 2001. PI (\$15,000)R

The Changing Structure of Federal Aid and the Politics of the Electoral Connection. Funded by the National Science Foundation 2001-2002. SES0095997 Co-PI, January 2001-January 2003. PI (\$230,000)

Greater Harris County 9-1-1 Emergency Network Data Archive and Analysis January, 2000- January 2001. PI (\$15,000)

Evaluation of Greater Harris County Emergency Network: Round II, funded by the Greater Harris. PI County Emergency Network, September, 1993 - January, 1994. (\$5,000)

Evaluation of Greater Harris County 9-1-1 Emergency Network, funded by the Greater Harris County Emergency Network, January, 1992-July, 1993. PI (\$5,000)

Selective Universalization of Domestic Public Policy. Funded by the National Science Foundation (SES8921109) 1990-1992. PI (\$185,000)

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Contracting for Municipal Services. Funded by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. January, 1986-1990. PI

The Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation. Funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. September, 1983-1985. PI

Research Associate, Field Network Evaluation Study of the Reagan Domestic Program. Princeton Urban and Regional Center, Princeton University. Funded by the Ford Foundation. 1982-1984. PI

Research Associate, Field Network Evaluation Study of the Community Development Block Grant: Round 8. Funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Summer, 1982. PI

The Structural Character of Federal Grants-in-Aid. Funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1982-83. PI

The Allocation of Federal Grants-in-Aid. Funded by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. 1979-1981. PI

The Allocation of State-Local Aid: An Examination of Within State Variation. Funded by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. 1979-1981. PI

Editorial Positions

editorial board member, *Journal of Election Technology and Systems*, 2013-2016

editorial board member, *American Political Science Review*, 2001- 2007

Executive Committee, American Politics, *American Political Science Review*, 2004-2007

editorial board member, *American Journal of Political Science*, 1994-1998

editorial board member, *Journal of Politics*, 1994-1998

editorial board member, *Social Science Quarterly*. 1993-present

editorial board member, *State and Local Government Review*. 1987-1992.

editorial board member, *Urban Affairs Review* (formerly, *Urban Affairs Quarterly*) 1996- 2000.

referee, *American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Quarterly*, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, *Publius*, *National Science Foundation*.

Books

Perpetuating the Pork Barrel: Policy Subsystems and American Democracy, Cambridge University Press, 1995, with Kenneth N. Bickers.

Federal Domestic Outlays, 1983-1990. M.E. Sharp, 1991, with Kenneth N. Bickers

Urban Alternatives: Public and Private Markets in the Provision of Local Services, Pittsburgh Press, 1990.

Articles

"Choosing the less convenient way to vote: An anomaly in vote by mail elections," forthcoming, Political Research Quarterly. With Andrew Menger. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/10659129198900009>

"Waiting to vote in the 2016 Presidential Election: Evidence from a multi-jurisdiction Study," forthcoming, Political Research Quarterly. With Charles Stewart, Christopher Mann and others. Online first <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1065912919832374>

"This Way Out," Scientific American, October 2018. Pp. 76-79. With Leonardo Duenas-Osorio and Devika Subramanian.

"Pedagogical Value of Polling-Place Observation by Students." PS: Political Science & Politics, 51:831-837 (October 2018). With Mann, Christopher B., Gayle A. Alberda, Nathaniel A. Birkhead, Yu Ouyang, Chloe Singer, Charles Stewart, Michael C. Herron, et al. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096518000550>.

"Reducing the undervote with vote by mail," American Politics Research. 46(6):1039-1064 (September 2018). With Andrew Menger and Greg Vonnahme.

"Enlisting the public in facilitating election administration: A field experiment," Public Administration Review, 78(6):892-903 (December 2018), with Andrew Menger.

"Survey Experiments with Google Consumer Surveys: Promise and Pitfalls for Academic Research in Social Science." Political Analysis 24(3):256-373 (September 2016), with Philip Santaso and Randolph Stevenson.

"Election Administration During National Disasters and Emergencies: Hurricane Sandy and the 2012 Election." Election Law Journal 14:1-8 (January 2016).

"The social and private benefits of preparing for natural disasters," International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters. 32:459-483 (August 2014), with Birnur Buzcu-Guven, Leonardo Dueñas-Osorio, Devika Subramanian.

"Building and validating geographically refined hurricane wind risk models for residential structures," Natural Hazards Review, 15(3):1-10 (November 2014), with Devika Subramanian, Leonardo Dueñas-Osorio, Josue Salazar

"How risk perceptions influence evacuations from hurricanes and compliance with government directives," Policy Studies Journal, 41(2):319-341 (April 2013), with Birnur Buzcu-Guven, Leonardo Dueñas-Osorio, Devika Subramanian, and David Kahle

"Early voting and campaign news coverage," Political Communication, 30:278-396 (April 2013), with Johanna Dunaway

"The effect of election day vote centers on voter participation," Election Law Journal, 11(4):291-301 (September 2012) with Greg Vonnahme.

"Where, when and how we vote: Does it matter?" Social Science Quarterly. 93(3):693-712.. (September 2012) with Greg Vonnahme.

"Prospectus for the Future Administration of Elections," Baker Center Journal of Applied Public Policy 4(1):45-57. (Spring, 2012)

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"Engineering-based hurricane risk estimates and comparison to perceived risks in storm-prone areas," Natural Hazards Review, 13(1):1-12 (Spring 2012). with Leonardo Duenas-Osorio, Devika Subramanian and Birnur Gimur.

"Voting at non-precinct polling places: A review and research agenda," Election Law Journal, 10:307-11 (October 2011) with Greg Vonnahme.

"Interface network models for complex urban infrastructure systems," Journal of Infrastructure Systems, 17(4): 138-150 (2011), with Winkler, J., L. Dueñas-Osorio, R. Stein, and D. Subramanian.

"Performance assessment of topological diverse power systems subjected to hurricane events," Reliability Engineering and System Safety, 95:323-336. (April 2010). with James Winkler, Leonardo Duenas-Osorio and Devika Subramanian.

"Who evacuates when hurricanes approach? The role of risk, information and location," Social Science Quarterly, 91:816-834.(September 2010). With Leonardo Duenas-Osorio and Devika Subramanian

"Crunching collisions," Roads and Bridges 13:2 (April 2009), with Robert Dahnke, Ben Stevenson, and Tim Lomax.

"Voting technology, election administration and voter performance," Election Law Journal, 7:123-135 (April 2008) with Greg Vonnahme, Michael Byrne and Daniel Wallach.

"Engaging the unengaged voter: Voter centers and voter turnout," Journal of Politics, 70:487-497 (April 2008) with Greg Vonnahme.

"Assessing the Micro-Foundations of the Tiebout Model," Urban Affairs Review, 42:57-80 (September 2006), with Kenneth Bickers and Lapo Salucci.

"Who is Held Responsible When Disaster Strikes? The Attribution of Responsibility for a Natural Disaster in an Urban Election," Journal of Urban Affairs, 28:43-54 (2006) with Kevin Arceneaux.

"Voting for Minority Candidates in Multi-Racial/Ethnic Communities," Urban Affairs Review, 41:157-181 (November 2005) with Stacy Ulbig and Stephanie Post.

"Inter-Local Cooperation and the Distribution of Federal Grant Awards," Journal of Politics, 66:800-22 (August 2004) with Kenneth Bickers.

"Language Choice, Residential Stability, and Voting among Latino-Americans," Social Science Quarterly, 84:412-24, (June 2003), with Martin Johnson and Robert Wrinkle.

"Public Support for Term Limits: Another Look at Conventional Thinking," Legislative Studies Quarterly, 27:459-480. (August 2002) with Martin Johnson and Stephanie Shirley Post.

"Contextual Data and the Study of Elections and Voting Behavior: Connecting Individuals to Environments." Electoral Studies, 21:63-77 (March 2002), with Martin Johnson, W. Phillips Shivley. Also appearing in *The Future of Electoral Studies*. Mark N. Franklin and Christopher Wlezien, eds. Oxford: Elsevier Press (2003).

"The Congressional Pork Barrel in a Republican Era," Journal of Politics, 62:1070-1086 (November, 2000) with Kenneth Bickers.

"State Economies, Regional Governance, and Urban-Suburban Economic Dependence," Urban Affairs Review, 36:46-60 (Spring, 2000) with Stephanie Shirley Post.

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- "Reconciling Context and Contact Effects on Racial Attitudes," Political Research Quarterly. 53:285-303 (June, 2000), with Stephanie Shirley Post and Allison Rinden.
- "The Micro Foundations of the Tiebout Model," Urban Affairs Review 34:76-93 (September, 1998) with Kenneth Bickers.
- "Early Voting," Public Opinion Quarterly. 62:57-70 (Spring, 1998).
- "Voting Early, But Not Often," Social Science Quarterly 78:657-677 (September, 1997) with Patricia Garcia-Monet.
- "Building Majority Coalitions for Sub-majority Benefit Distributions," Public Choice 91:229-249 (June, 1997). with Kenneth Bickers.
- "The Electoral Dynamics of the Federal Pork Barrel," American Journal of Political Science, 40:1300-1326 (November, 1996) with Kenneth Bickers.
- "Privatization and the Arrangement of City Services," Estudios De Economia, 23:323 (August, 1996)
- "A Portfolio Theory of Policy Subsystems," Administration and Society, 26:158-184 (August, 1994). with Kenneth Bickers
- "Congressional Elections and the Pork Barrel," Journal of Politics , 56:377-399 (November 1994)
- "Explaining State Aid Allocations: Targeting Within Universalism," Social Science Quarterly, 75:524-540 (September, 1994) with Keith E. Hamm
- "Universalism and the Electoral Connection: A Test and Some Doubts," Political Research Quarterly, 47:295-318 (June, 1994) with Kenneth N. Bickers.
- "Response to Weingast's 'Reflections on Distributive Politics and Universalism,'" Political Research Quarterly: 47:329-334 (June, 1994) with Kenneth N. Bickers.
- "Arranging City Services," Journal of Public Administration: Research and Theory 3:66-93 (January, 1993).
- "Alternative Means of Delivering Municipal Services: 1982-1988," Intergovernmental Perspective. 19:27-30 (Winter, 1993).
- "A Federalist Explanation of Municipal Elections," The Midsouth Political Science Journal. 13:211-229 (June, 1992) with Cheryl Young.
- "The Budgetary Effects of Municipal Service Contracting: A Principal-Agent Explanation," American Journal of Political Science. 34:471-502 (May, 1990).
- "Economic Voting for Governor and U.S. Senator: The Electoral Consequences of Federalism," Journal of Politics 52:29-54 (February, 1990).
- "Market Maximization of Individual Preferences and Metropolitan Municipal Service Responsibility," Urban Affairs Quarterly 24:86-116 (September, 1989).
- "A Comparative Analysis of the Targeting Capacity of State and Federal Intergovernmental Aid Allocations: 1977-1982," Social Science Quarterly 68:447-466 (Sept., 1987). With K. Hamm.

"Tiebout's Sorting Hypothesis," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 22:199-225 (Sept., 1987).

"Federal Aid and The Mobilization of Black Political Influence." Research in Urban Policy, 2:97-117. (1986) with K. Hamm.

"The Fiscal Impact of U.S. Military Assistance Programs, 1967-1976." The Western Political Quarterly, 38:27-43 (March, 1985). with R. Stoll and M. Ishimatsu.

"Municipal Public Employment: An Examination of Intergovernmental Influences." American Journal of Political Science, 28:636-653 (November, 1984).

"State Regulation and the Political Consequences of Municipal Fiscal Stress." Publius, 14:41-54 (Spring, 1984).

"Implementation of Federal Policy: An Extension of the 'Differentiated Theory of Federalism'," Research in Urban Policy, 3:341-348 (1984)

"The Structural Character of Federal Aid: An Examination of Fiscal Impact," Research in Urban Economics, 4:167-186 (Fall, 1984).

"Trends and Prospects in State and Local Finance," Journal of Urban Economics, 14:224-241 (September, 1983) with P. Mieszkowski.

"An Analysis of Support for Tax Limitation Referenda," Public Choice, 40:187-194 (Winter, 1983) with K. Hamm and P. Freeman.

"The Political Economy of Municipal Functional Responsibility," Social Science Quarterly, 63:530-549 (September, 1982).

"The Effects of Reagan Domestic Budget Cuts: The Case of Houston," Texas Business Review, 13:11-18. (Oct.-Nov., 1982) with S.A. MacManus.

"The Targeting of State Aid: A Comparison of Grant Delivery Mechanisms," Urban Interest, 2:47-59 (Spring, 1981).

"The Allocation of Federal Aid Monies: The Synthesis of Demand-Side and Supply-Side Explanations," American Political Science Review, 75:334-343 (June, 1981).

"Functional Integration at the Substate Level: A Policy Perspective," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 16:211-233 (December, 1980).

"Federally Mandated Substate Regional Government: The Maintenance of Governmental Structures," Urban Interest, 1:74-82 (Spring, 1980).

"Federal Categorical Aid: Equalization and the Application Process," Western Political Quarterly, 32: 396-408 (December, 1979)

"The Electability of Women Candidates: The Effects of Sex Role Stereotyping," Journal of Politics, 41:513-524 (May, 1979) With R. Hedlund, K. Hamm, and P. Freeman.

"Regional Planning Assistance: Its Distribution to Local Governments and its Relationship to Local Grant Getting," The Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 43:871-891 (July, 1977) With B. Hawkins.

Chapters in edited volumes

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"Polling Place Quality," in Kathleen Hale and Bridgett A. King, eds., *The Future of Election Administration*, Palgrave. 2019: 83-100

"Help America Vote Act of 2002" in *Voting and Political Representation in America: Issues and Trends* Edited by Mark P. Jones. Forthcoming, 2019 Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO

"Convenience modes of voting" in *Voting and Political Representation in America: Issues and Trends* Edited by Mark P. Jones Forthcoming, 2019 Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO

"Polling Place Practices," in *Electoral Performance*, Charles Stewart III and Barry Burden, eds. Cambridge University Press, 2014:166-187. With Greg Vonnahme

"Early, Absentee, and Mail-in Voting," in *Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*, ed. Jan Leighley, Oxford University Press, 2010:182-199. with Greg Vonnahme.

"The Political Market for Intergovernmental Cooperation," in *Self-Organizing Federalism: Collaborative Mechanisms to Mitigate Institutional Collective Action Dilemmas*, eds., Richard C. Feiock and John T. Scholz. Cambridge University Press. 2010:161-178.. With Kenneth N. Bickers and Stephanie Post

"Local Services, Provision and Production," in Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy, New York, Marcel Dekker, 2003: 734-748.

"The Politics of Revenue and Spending Policies," in John Pelissero, ed. Cities, Politics, and Policy. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. 2002:217-236.

"Implications for Citizen Participation," in Paul Schumacher and Burdette Loomis eds. Choosing a President The Electoral College and Beyond. New York, Catham House, 2002 with Paul Johnson, Daron Shaw and, Robert Weissberg. Pp. 125-142

"Devolution and the Challenge for Local Governance," in Ronald E. Weber and Paul Brace, eds. Change and Continuity in American State and Local Politics New York, Catham House. 2000:21-33

"Contracting for Municipal Services," in P. Seidenstat, S. Hakim and G. Bowman eds. Privatization of the Justice System, McFarland and Co. Publishers. 1992: 82-107, with Delores Martin.

"Urban Public Policy Under Fiscal Stress: A Comparison of Spending and Employment Decisions," pp. 111-144, in Mark Gottdiner (ed.) Cities Under Fiscal Stress, Sage, 1986 with M. Neiman and E. Sinclair.

"The Texas Response to Reagan's New Federalism Programs: The Early Years," pp. 124-159 in, L. Bender and J. Stever, (eds.) Managing the New Federalism, Denver: Westview Press, 1986 with S.A. MacManus.

"Implementation of federal policy: An extension of the 'differentiated theory of federalism.' " pp. 341-348. in Terry Nichols Clark (ed). Research in Urban Policy Chicago: JAI Press, 1985

"Policy Implementation in the Federal Aid System: The Case of Grant Policy," pp. 125-155 in, G. Edwards (ed.) Public Policy Implementation, JAI Press, 1984.

"The Allocation of State Aid to Local Governments: An Examination of Interstate Variations," pp. 202-225. in, U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, The Federal Influence on State and Local Roles in the Federal System, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982.

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"The Impact of Federal Grant Programs on Municipal Functions: An Empirical Analysis," pp. 65-122 in, U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, The Federal Influence on State and Local Roles in the Federal System, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981

"The Impact of Socio-Economic Environment on Revenue Policies," pp. 133-172. in, R. Bingham, B. Hawkins, and F. Hebert, The Politics of Raising State and Local Revenues, Praeger, 1978 with R. Bingham, B. Hawkins, and R. Robertson.

"Grant Seeking and the Allocation of Federal Grant-in-Aid Monies: The Case of Southeastern Wisconsin," pp. 199-219 in, John P. Blair and Ronald S. Edari, (eds.), Milwaukee's Economy: Federal Programs, Local Resources and Community Action, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, 1978

"Substate Regionalism: Another View From the States," pp. 69-102 in, Charles Tyer (ed.) Substate Regionalism in the United States: Perspectives and Issues, University of South Carolina Press, 1978

Recent papers, completed manuscripts, conference papers and invited presentations

"Compositional effects of vote by mail elections," presented at VBMcon: A Conference to discuss vote by mail election reform, June 20, 2019, Washington, D.C.

"Vote fraud and errant voting," Invited presentation at Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE. April 25, 2013.

"Polling place practices," Prepared for presentation at the Measure of Elections Conference, June 18-19, 2012, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, MA

"Where, when and how we vote: Does it matter?" presented at the Scottish National Election Commission, Strathclyde University, Glasgow, Scotland. November 12-15, 2010.

"The future of elections," presented at the *Future of Governance Conference*, Howard Baker Institute of Government, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tx. October 14-15, 2010.

"Cost of elections," Presented at the 2010 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill. April 3-5, 2000 with Greg Vonnahme.

"Early voting and campaign news coverage," 2010 Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., Sept 1-3.

"The cost of elections." Report prepared for the Pew Charitable Trusts, 2009. With Greg Vonnahme.

"The effects of early voting on congressional campaign expenditures." Presented at the 2009 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill. April 13-15, 2000 With Marvin McNeese

"The effects of Election Day vote centers on voter experiences." Presented at the 2008 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill. April 3-5, 2008. With Greg Vonnahme

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Whither the Challenger: Congressional Elections in Metropolitan America, Presented at the 2005 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-3, with Kenneth Bickers.

Assessing the Micro-Foundations of the Tiebout Model Presented at the 2005 Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Meetings, Chicago, Ill. April 2-5, with Kenneth Bickers and Lapo Salucci.

Electoral Reform, Party Mobilization and Voter Turnout Presented at the 2004 Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Meetings, Chicago, Ill. April 21-23, with Jan Leighley, Chris Owens.

The Role of Candidates and Parties in Linking Electoral Reforms with Voter Participation. Presented at the 2003 Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Meetings, Chicago, Ill. April 21-23, with Jan Leighley, Chris Owens.

Voting for Minority Candidates in Multi-Racial/Ethnic Communities. Presented at the 2003 Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Meetings, Chicago, Ill. April 21-23, with Stacy Ulbig and Stephan Post.

The within congressional district electoral connection. Presented at the 2002 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA August 28-September 2, with Kenneth Bickers.

Who Will Vote? The Accessibility of Intention to Vote and Validated Behavior at the Ballot Box, Presented at the 2001 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA., August 28-September 2, with Martin Johnson

Contextual Explanations of Presidential Vote Choice, Presented at the 2001 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 13-15, with W.Philps Shivley and Martin Johnson.

The Changing Structure of Federal Aid and the Politics of the Electoral Connection Coalitions. Presented at the 2000 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4. With Kenneth Bickers.

Accessibility and Contextual Explanations of White Racial Attitudes. Presented at the 2000 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4. With W.Philps Shivley and Martin Johnson

Information, Persuasion and Orphaned Voters. Presented at the 1999 Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA., September 1-4. With Martin Johnson

The Federal Pork Barrel and the Formation of Intergovernmental Grant-Seeking Coalitions Presented at the 1999 Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA., September 1-4. With Kenneth Bickers.

The Congressional Pork Barrel in a Republican Era. Presented at the 1999 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 13-15. With Kenneth Bickers

The Local Public Goods Market: A Definition, Measure, and Test, Presented at the 1998 Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, Sept. 3-6 10-12. With Stephanie Shirley Post.

The Ties that Bind: Urban and Suburban Dependency. Presented at the 1998 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 10-12. With Stephanie Shirley Post

Professional Associations

President, Urban Subsection, American Political Science Association, 1999-2000

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President, Southwest Political Science Association, 1997-1998
Chair, Nominations committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1995
Nomination committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1993-94
Executive Council, Southwest Political Science Association, 1992-1994
Chair, nominations committee, 1993-94, Southwest Political Science Association.
Section Head, State and Local Government, 1993, Southern Political Science Association Meetings.
Section Head, State and Intergovernmental Relations, 1992 Midwest Political Science Association .
Executive Board, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 1990-1992
Executive Board, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1985-1991, 1993-1994
Program Chair, Southwestern Political Science Association Annual Meetings, 1983
Section Head, Intergovernmental Relations, Southern Political Science Association Meetings. 1983

Ph. D. Thesis advisees

Albert Ellis, Ph.D. 1989, Associate Professor (deceased), University of Texas, Corpus Christi
Stephanie Post, Ph.D. 1998, Director, Center for Civic Engagement, Rice University
Martin Johnson, Ph.D. 2002. Professor and Chair, University of California-Riverside
Gavin Dillingham, Ph.D. 2004. Research Scientist, Houston Advanced Research Center
Johanna Dunaway, Ph.D. 2006. Associate Professor, Louisiana State University
Gregory Vonnahme, Ph.D. 2009. Assistant Professor, University of Missouri-Kansas City
Marvin McNeese, Ph.D. 2015
Andrew Menger, Ph.D. expected 2017

Teaching

Urban Politics (undergraduate)
Public Policy (graduate and undergraduate)
Bureaucracy and Public Policy
Policy Implementation
Federalism
Political Behavior

Recent expert testimony

Expert Report in the case of Mark Wandering Medicine et al. v. Linda McCulloch et al. [voting rights case in the state of Montana] February-June, 2014.